

GIBBS WARNS WORLD INDIA REVOLT WOULD MENACE CIVILIZATION

Soviet Reds and Misguided
English Folk Fan Flame
of Insurrection.

RELIGION AN ELEMENT

British Prestige Hurt When
Nation Proved to Be Not
Invincible in War.

CASE NOT LIKE IRELAND'S

American Clergy and Publi-
cists Urged to Advise Sinn
Fein to Accept Offer.

By SIR PHILIP GIBBS.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD.
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LONDON, Sept. 3.—Recent news of
serious risings in India has excited
those alarmists who expect any day
to hear of a flaming insurrection
throughout the Indian Empire. It is
also a curious fact that many peo-
ple not altogether unprincipled or
bloodthirsty, but with ideas of lib-
erty carried to excess, entertain
secret hopes that the Indian people,
as they say with extraordinary igno-
rance of all the races and peoples
within that vast continent, may lib-
erate themselves from "British op-
pression" and establish "self-govern-
ment."

I have heard elderly little ladies
jump up in English public meetings
and cry out in a shrill voice: "When
will India be liberated from British
tyranny?" I have been heckled that
way myself and have smiled to find
that India was put with Ireland as a
country demanding republic rights.
Little groups writing communistic
and revolutionary tracts, secretly
printed and distributed among Brit-
ish workmen, prophesy that the
time is near at hand when India will
"throw off the British yoke" and join
Russia in establishing liberty and
equality.

Many of these tracts are written
and circulated by young Indian stu-
dents of law and medicine in Lon-
don University, who afterward go
back to India with theoretical ideas
of western parliamentary systems,
which they propose to adopt to In-
dian civilization and with a sense of
irritation against English society,
which treated them with ill-dis-
guised, though unexpressed, conde-
scension. Many of them become
propagandists for revolt against
British rule, but would not have much
influence were it not for other forces,
far more powerful, at work to incite
revolution among the Indian races.

Bolsheviki Stirring Trouble.

There is no doubt, from recent in-
formation which I have personally
received, that the Russian Bolsheviki
are actively stirring up trouble by
way of Afghanistan, in which they
have important centres of propa-
ganda, also the Turks are trying to
excite religious feelings in their fel-
low Mohammedans because of the
Greek war, and the British opera-
tions in Mesopotamia and Palestine.
In this way over many Oriental
routes Indian unrest is traveling over
wide territories and is reacting on
European interests in Asia Minor.

A general uprising in the Moham-
medan world will be a new menace
not only to the British Empire but
to all European civilization, for
what weakens the British Empire
would weaken all Europe in her pres-
ent state, and anything like a wide-
spread insurrection in India will be
one of the most ghastly episodes in
history which we have yet seen, in-
cluding that of Russia.

Now what is the chance of that?
My knowledge of the present Indian
situation is only second hand, but I
have reliable information from
friends out there which breaks
through the secrecy of the censor-
ship imposed on the press and the
difficulty of telegraphing communica-
tions.

Reports Are Reassuring.

Taking into account many sinis-
ter incidents and popular riots of an
alarming character, their reports are
on the whole reassuring. They do
not underestimate the gravity of the
situation, which is dangerous, owing
to agitation everywhere, but they be-
lieve that the loyalty of the Indian
princes, the general faith of Indian
peasants in British justice and ad-
ministration and the lack of coopera-
tion among the Indian peoples of
different race and religion make
anything like an extension to an
extensive uprising improbable.

A friend of mine holding an important
position in India and who is just home
on leave sums up the situation by say-
ing that unrest is general, but that
British prestige still rests on secure
foundations. One cause of that unrest
in India, as in all parts of the world,
is due to the war. During the war I
was a personal witness to the wonder-
ful loyalty and gallantry of the Indian
princes and soldiers on the western
front. The Indian princes poured out
help and treasure with prodigal magnifi-
cence in proof of their devotion to the
British Empire, and the Indian army
in France in the bad early days poured
out its blood at Ypres, Neuve Chapelle,
Festubert and on other dreadful fields.
My memories of the spring of 1915
in France go back to the flat fields

about the River Lys and the Flemish
towns where the Indian troops were
battled. To the French villagers, who
have no sense of any color prejudice,
these dark, soft eyed men with gentle
manners and chivalrous ways seemed
like fairy folk figures, romantic and
sympathetic. Were they not fighting
for France and dying for France? I
saw many of them dying and saw
their comrades shivering and miser-
able in water logged Flemish trenches in
winter. I thought then, and think now,
that, in spite of our great need for
regular trained soldiers in those early
days before our new armies were ready,
it was a mistake to bring those Indian
troops to France.

The climate was against them and
their way of fighting did not fit them
to stand in ditches under modern gun
fire, but apart from that every man
who wrote home or went home helped
to lower British prestige in India. They
saw the early phase of the war, when
the Germans outnumbered us in men
and guns and seemed to be winning
on many fronts and were inflicting
upon us enormous casualties because
of the superiority of their artillery
and ammunition. It was a shock to the
Indian soldiers, who believed in the
invincibility of the British army.

Women Lower White Prestige.

White prestige was lowered because
white women were too friendly and
romantic toward these Indians and be-
cause this mutual massacre of white
and Christian races seemed to many
intelligent Indians to be ghastly in-
sanity, from which their own race
might profit according to the wisdom
of Allah. I saw extracts from many
Indian letters in which such ideas
were expressed openly or in allegory.

Long service, illness, wounds, the
inevitable hardships of war, long exile
and the stirring of ideas and emotions
made some of these men agents of re-
volt, and in thousands of secret ways
the Far East, which has been called
unchanging, has changed in spirit be-
cause of that great European conflict.
Yet they are only ignorant souls or
fanatics who talk of India as a people
claiming self-government on Western
lines.

Ghandi, who has organized a wide-
spread boycott against British goods,
used such words as nationalism, home
rule and liberty, but in his brain, as
in other Indian brains, they have
totally different meanings from what
the Western ideas are. Amiable and
liberal souls in England, ignorant of
the East, proclaim Ghandi as a kind
of liberal statesman like Gladstone,
but that is not how he is regarded
by Indian peasants. To them he is a
miracle worker. Many believe he can
cause rain to fall on parched fields
and can raise spirits from deep wells.
They have been told so by the holy
fakirs.

He himself upholds the caste sys-
tem, although for a time he tried to
avert it, and in India caste is so
strange that a man is polluted by the
shadow of a man of another caste
falling across his food; so strange
that there cannot be intermarriage
between one caste and another; so
strange that every trade and occupa-
tion from street sweeper upward has
a definite status of caste, from which
there is no escape in life and which
is inherited. Western liberty cannot
exist with the caste system nor among
races that worship gods and fear
devils according to the Hindu faith.

Religious Hatred Rampant.

Again, there are many races in India
filled with religious hatred for one
another. Only the rule of a dominant
race keeps India safe from continual
bloodshed and anarchy. In its history
there have been many dominant races,
but not until the British came did
India get peace and justice as fair to
the peasant as to the prince and an
administration which in spite of all
human faults has made good roads,
watered great deserts and has brought
health and security to a vast popula-
tion. Our India civil service was a
great school of administration and
produced fine types of men who did
big jobs without fame or much re-
ward, efficiently and devotedly, as a
kind of vocation. I think they were
our best type in many ways, and one
cause of the trouble in India to-day is
the replacement of Indian civil ser-
vants, who knew the people and their

language, by younger and inexperi-
enced men of lower grade.

Of course all agitators and real
lovers of liberty refer to the Amritsar
massacre as typical of British rule in
India and of British character every-
where. It was a black episode, but
isolated in Indian history and an act
of ill judgment and unnecessary
harshness by a general who has since
been degraded.

My object in writing this is not to
eulogize British rule in India, but to
point out that if it fails, or is over-
thrown, there is no substitute but
frightful anarchy and another source
of danger and weakness to white pre-
stige throughout the world. Also I
want to give warning to political
speakers, especially the Sinn Fein,
that in using India as an example of
"British tyranny" they are not only
proving themselves guilty of gross
ignorance of Oriental conditions and
mentality, but are playing into the
hands of the revolutionary agitators
who do not care one rap for India or
human liberty, but desire to unleash
devils throughout a world in which
all men of good will are striving for
universal peace.

Disappointed by De Valera.

It is a far cry from India to Ire-
land, although both names are used
together as reproaches against British
rule, but I cannot let this article go
without a reference to the chances for
Irish peace. Like most English peo-
ple who have set their hearts on lib-
erty for Ireland within the federation
of British peoples, I am profoundly
depressed by the irreconcilable atti-
tude of Eamon de Valera and the
Dail Eireann to the British offer of
dominion home rule subject to certain
conditions capable of explanation and
enlargement.

It seems to me that the Irish leaders
are revealing medieval minds, still
looking backward to old traditions and
thought and failing woefully to ad-
vance to the new ideals of world peace
and cooperation. Intense nationalism
which sees liberty only in absolute
isolation is old fashioned and retro-
grade. It is as though certain States
in the United States were to repudiate
their allegiance to American unity.
De Valera rejects liberty by his refusal
of obedience to the generous loyalties
which safeguard all British peoples.

I am told the Irish leaders secretly
express themselves as being willing to
accept dominion home rule with cer-
tain alterations to the British offer if
the British Government will bring
pressure to bear on Ulster to acknowl-
edge the supremacy of the Dail
Eireann. That is impossible without
treachery to Ulster, and much as I
deplore the Ulster "dog in the man-
ager" policy, I dislike treachery still
more.

There is still time to bring persua-
sion to bear on the Irish leaders on
both sides, and American opinion
above all is of value in this direction.
I profoundly hope that it will be ex-
pressed still more strongly in favor
of acceptance of the British offer.
Churches also should raise a voice on
behalf of peace, reminding men of
Christian faith, like the Catholic lead-
ers in Ireland, that there is a higher
law even than that of liberty and that
those who draw the sword shall per-
ish by the sword. In my humble opin-
ion the first man who draws the sword
in Ireland now after an offer of lib-
erty so full and free is a traitor to all
humanity and to Christian laws.

A Barometer of Feeling.

This admonition to the league's com-
mission on amendments by M. Noble-
maire, a French representative here, to-
day summed up the attitude of many
delegates to the second Assembly, which
will open here Monday. The shadow
of the Washington conference is across
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larger Powers fearful that something
might be done at this League of Nations
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those Powers when they gather around
the conference table at Washington.

With this situation existing at
Geneva, not even the League of Nations
well wishers expect much more than
talk to eventuate from the Assembly's
sessions. As a barometer of the world's
feeling it is of considerable value, how-
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United States and the influence it is
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Hope in America.
By the Associated Press.

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COUNCIL OF LEAGUE FOR ARMS INQUIRY

Armament Committee Rec-
ommends Conference on
Private Manufacture.

GREAT POWERS OPPOSE

Amendment Committee Ad-
vises Change in Article X.
of the Covenant.

SMALL NATIONS APPROVE

All Looking to Washington
Parley to Clear Up Differ-
ences in Policy.

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GENEVA, Sept. 3.—On account of the
Washington conference for the limita-
tion of armaments, which is the prime
factor here, a somewhat curious situ-
ation has developed in the League of
Nations on the eve of the second
assembly meeting. Although large
Powers like Great Britain, France and
Japan apparently are desirous of
avoiding action here that would em-
barrass their representatives at Wash-
ington, the smaller nations not in-
vited to the Washington conference
are inclined to disagree violently with
this programme.

This was indicated to-day when,
over the protest of Great Britain and
Japan in the Committee on Arma-
ments, the vote was carried for a resolu-
tion recommending a general confer-
ence on the private manufacture of
arms and also that a questionnaire be
sent to all Governments for details of
their present and pre-war military
forces, their financial burdens and
other statistics for the years from 1913
to 1921.

When, despite objection from France,
the Committee on Amendments decided
to recommend that the Assembly modify
Article X, Great Britain, France and
Japan showed determined efforts to
sidetrack this action, but nearly all the
smaller nations were in favor of it.
"There is no use discussing seriously
a revision of Article X, or any other
changes in the present league when
everybody knows that these and other
questions will be discussed and perhaps
settled in Washington. Let us not
prejudice our interests in advance of
that conference by marking the slate."

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legate to the League of Nations meet-
ing, adding: